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The James W. Lee Arawak Collection, UWI, Kingston, Jamaica: Facts And Figures

All Mapped Sites

- Caves
- Middens

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4
Abstract
Dr James Lee presented his collection of Pre-Columbian artefacts, and all accompanying documentation, to the University of the West Indies, Mona Campus, in 2000. A study of this collection has now been made, and the principal results are summarised here. There are 265 fully mapped sites, material from 191 of which is represented in the collection. It is hoped that the information derived from the study of this collection will give the international community a better appreciation of our current knowledge concerning the Pre-Columbian settlement of the island.

Résumé
Dr James Lee a fait don de sa collection d’artefacts Pré-colombiens, ainsi que de toute la documentation d’accompagnement, à l’Université des Antilles Occidentales, Campus de Mona, en 2000. Une étude de cette collection a maintenant été complétée et les résultats sont récapitulés ici. Il y a 265 sites entièrement cartographiés, du matériel de 191 d’entre eux étant représenté dans la collection. On espère que l’information tirée de l’étude de cette collection offrira à la communauté archéologique internationale une meilleure appréciation de nos connaissances actuelles concernant le peuplement Pré-colombien de l’île.

Resumen
El Dr James Lee donó su colección de objetos Pre-colombinos, y su respectiva documentación, a la Universidad de las Antillas Occidentales del Campus de Mona en el año 2000. Hasta el momento se ha realizado un estudio de la misma y el compendio de sus principales resultados han sido sumados aquí. En ésta encontramos 265 sitios con mapas completas y elementos de 191 de ellos, los cuales componen esta colección. Se espera que la información derivada de este estudio dé a la comunidad arqueológica internacional una mejor apreciación de nuestros principales conocimientos en cuanto a la cultura Pre-colombina de la isla.

Introduction
Many members of IACA are acquainted with Dr James Lee. A Canadian by birth, he is a professional geologist, who obtained his doctorate from Stanford University in 1951. He was hired by the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation in that year and he remained in their employment for 35 years, until his retirement in 1986. Most of this time was spent in Jamaica. It was here that he was able to develop his interest in archaeology, particularly in the Pre-Columbian settlement of the island. His principal aim was to locate and accurately map all the known sites and to investigate any new ones that were brought to his attention. In the course of this activity, he also recovered material from the sites, although he did not conduct any excavations. In 1965 he founded the Archaeological Club of Jamaica, which in 1970 became the Archaeological Society of Jamaica. He edited, and almost single-handedly produced, the newsletter “Archaeology Jamaica” from 1965 to 1986. This recorded his own activities, and those of other members of the Society, and the growth in the number of mapped sites was chronicled year by year. Dr Lee was a regular participant in IACA meetings, and published a number of reports in the Proceedings (Lee, 1980, 1985, 1990; Roobol and Lee, 1976).

Following his retirement, Dr Lee hoped that he might be able to establish a museum at his residence in Runaway Bay, but with the passage of time, this hope was not realised, and in the year 2000 he decided to hand over his collection to the University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Thanks to an initiative of the General Manager of the Jamaica Bauxite Institute, Mr Parris Lyew-Ayee, funding was obtained to enable the study of the collection to be undertaken, over a period which in the end turned out to be more than three years. This funding was provided by Kaiser Jamaica Bauxite
Company (KJBC) and Alumina Partners of Jamaica (ALPART). Additional support was given by other sponsors, and help in the execution of the project was received from many quarters, as detailed in the Acknowledgements. The basic inventory of the collection is contained in a CD-ROM which has been prepared and which was demonstrated to the project's sponsors on 22 May 2003. The text designed to accompany the CD-ROM is not yet complete. Hence the purpose of this paper is to summarise the information which is on the CD-ROM, the "facts and figures" relating to the collection which Dr Lee assembled. In his work, he always referred to the Pre-Columbian inhabitants of Jamaica as Arawaks, and out of respect for him this name has been retained to describe his collection, although evidently in scientific circles these days the appellation Taino is preferred (Rouse, 1992).

Nature of the Collection

The sites fully mapped by Dr Lee at the final count come to 265, of which 201 are middens and 64 are caves. 191 of these sites have artefacts or other remains which are included in the collection, of which 164 are middens and 27 are caves. In addition, Dr Lee listed 77 sites which he did not succeed in finding or mapping. 36 of these were old sites mentioned by his predecessors, particularly Duerden (1897), Cundall (1939), and Howard (1950). 41 were new sites which Dr Lee had heard of but the existence of which he was not able to confirm. The analysis presented here is essentially confined to the 265 fully documented sites. In addition, it was felt that six sites discovered or investigated more thoroughly by others after 1986 could not be ignored: these are Aboukir (Aarons, 1994; Saunders and Gray, 1996), Potoo Hole (Fincham, 1998), Nanny Town (Agorsah, 1994; Callum, 2001), Paradise Park (with two sites, Paradise and Sweetwater; Keegan, 2002), and New Seville (Woodward, 1988).

There are 28,149 artefacts from the 191 sites represented in the collection. In addition, there are 1221 identified shells, 393 identified animal bones, and 389 identified human bones. For analytic purposes, in the overall inventory, we divided these remains into 18 categories: 1 decorated rim sherds, 2 plain rim sherds, 3 decorated body sherds, 4 plain body sherds, 5 lugs, 6 handles, 7 vessels, 8 decorated griddles, 9 plain griddles, 10 other ceramics, 11 stone celts, 12 chert, 13 other lithics, 14 shell celts or ornaments, 15 shells, 16 fossils, corals, other organic remains, 17 fauna, 18 historic remains. It will be seen that 10 of the categories relate to ceramics, and as so often with prehistoric collections the great bulk of the material does consist of broken up pots of various kinds. Where the material at any site was abundant enough, the decorative techniques present were recorded on special tables according to the element of the pot on which they occurred: lugs, rims, and shoulders, treated independently. There were 36 more or less complete vessels from various sites, and for these vessels the following attributes were recorded: ID #, maximum thickness, height, length, width, shape, and type. Shape was classified according to the system developed by Shepard (1956), e.g., restricted carinated, restricted simple, and so forth. Type is a looser concept, and in fact there are only four classes represented: round bowls, boat-shaped vessels, water jars, and other jars. The first two classes were recognised by Howard (1956: 49) as the “two basic shape categories for Jamaican pottery”. Water jars are much less well known, and appear to constitute something of a Jamaican speciality. In the first of his reports on the Bellevue site (K13) Medhurst (1976: 9-10) remarked on the presence of a small number of “buff-yellow potsherds.” Relatively thick, there was no evidence of their having been used as cooking vessels. As he said, “specimens of these buff-yellow sherds have been reported in small numbers from middens all over the island”, and they are commonly regarded as the remains of water containers (cf. Howard, 1965: 252 and Fig. 1i). The Lee collection corroborates Medhurst’s observations, and the identification of these vessels as water jars is convincing.

The shells were analysed by Dr Simon Mitchell (Department of Geography and Geology, UWI,
Mona Campus) and the fauna was further subdivided into animal and human bones. The animal bones were studied by Dr Betsy Carlson (Southeastern Archaeological Research Inc., Gainesville) and the human bones by Dr Ana Luisa Santos (Department of Anthropology, Coimbra University). Their studies were sponsored respectively by Mrs Jane Gregory Rubin (The Reed Foundation Inc., New York) and by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of the West Indies.

As part of the arrangements sponsored by the bauxite industry, 516 line drawings of the artefacts have been prepared. This work was undertaken first by the late Audrey Wiles, and subsequently by Mrs Alison West Martin. In addition, the CD-ROM displays 20 of Audrey Wiles’ paintings of fish, and there are 200 digital photographs of artefacts.

**Mapping the Sites**

Dr Lee commenced his project of “mapping all known Arawak sites in Jamaica” in 1959, with the encouragement of William J. Bryant (Lee, 1978). “The prime goal was to map each site on such a scale as would permit its later relocation by any person experienced in map reading”. He explained that previous archaeological mapping in Jamaica had fallen “far short of this standard”. It became clear at once that a “site numbering system” was needed. 13 letters were selected to represent the parishes (Kingston and St. Andrew being combined in one) and site numbers were assigned within each parish “approximately in chronological sequence of discovery”. The codes selected for the parishes are as follows: A St. Ann, C Clarendon, E St. Elizabeth, H Hanover, J St. James, K Kingston and St. Andrew, M Manchester, O St. Thomas, P Portland, S St. Catherine, T Trelawny, W Westmoreland, Y St. Mary. “Areas containing occupation debris”, i.e., middens, were given separate numbers wherever there was a “sterile space” of 400 meters (a quarter of a mile) or more between them. “Burial caves, petroglyph and pictograph sites were grouped together and numbered in a different sequence prefixed by parish letter plus a C”. Thus for example site C1 in Clarendon is Round Hill and site CC1 (with petroglyphs) is Milk River. Ordinarily, Dr Lee reported, it was possible to make “detailed sketch plans” of the sites by pace and compass, and for most of the middens reported here such plans were made.

Dr Lee’s system has been retained in its entirety in the inventory which has been created. But in addition the position of the sites has been recorded in terms of the drainage basins within which they fall. The National Atlas of Jamaica defines 20 such basins on the island and their boundaries have been accepted in this work (Town Planning Department and UNDP, 1971). We have taken this idea from Peter Harris, who has applied it in Grenada (Harris, 2001). As he points out, drainage basins provide a scientific way of organising the landscape. Parishes are of course a political construct, although in Jamaica it is fair to say that there is a certain degree of correspondence between the two, if only because the east-west spine of the island serves as a broadly similar dividing line in both cases. More importantly, “drainage basins often coincide with ethnic politics”. Harris states that this is the case in Hispaniola, and it may incidentally be noted that such a principle is not confined to the Caribbean (Kirch, 2000; Fig. 8.2, the island of Mangaia traditionally subdivided into 6 districts, following the natural stream drainages).

Apart from making detailed sketch plans, Dr Lee also recorded the geographical coordinates for all his mapped sites. In doing so, as he said, he made use of the 1:12,500 and 1:50,000 scale maps which were available at the time. 1:50,000 topographical maps had been issued in 12 lettered sheets A-N covering the entire island (Fincham, 1997, Fig. 1A). They (like the 1:12,500 maps) employed Imperial measures, i.e., miles and feet, and the island grid references painstakingly worked out for each of the mapped sites by Dr Lee (North, East, and Elevation) followed this system. Using his figures, the sites can be located on any of the old maps, which are still generally used in Jamaica. Between 1982 and 1991, a new series of 1:50,000 scale topographical maps was issued in 20 numbered sheets covering the entire island (Fincham, 1997, Fig. 1B). This series is Metric, i.e.,
it employs kilometres and metres for both the grid and the contours, and it is generally used in newer works describing locations on the island (e.g., Donovan et al., 1995). As pointed out by Professor Edward Robinson, “the projection is the same for the two systems”, hence, “converting from one to the other is a relatively simple matter in principle” (Robinson, 1996). A standard conversion formula is employed. This has been applied to all Dr Lee’s figures, so new island grid references and elevations in metres are available for all the sites, in addition to Dr Lee’s original measurements.

Using Dr Lee’s sketch plans, it is possible to work out the area of the middens which he surveyed, on the assumption that each forms an approximate ellipse (Girling, 1978). It is also not difficult to work out the distance of each site from the sea. Taking all the sites together (201 middens and 64 caves recorded by Dr Lee, plus the 6 new sites) their mean distance from the sea is 4.78 kilometres and their mean elevation is 164.3 metres. The mean size of the middens is 1.2 hectares. These figures are of course no more than broadly indicative, and do not take account of distributions and standard deviations. The position of all the mapped sites, in relation to the drainage basins, is shown in Figure 1.

**Cultural Variants**

There are various ways in which the sites can be subdivided, one of the most obvious being their cultural characteristics. Four such groupings have so far been recognised in Jamaica, generally referred to as Redware, Montego Bay, Port Morant, and White Marl sites.

1. Redware Sites

Little River (A15) was the first site of this type to be investigated in Jamaica. Excavations were carried out here by Marian de Wolf in 1933 but the results were not published until 1953 (de Wolf, 1953). From the largest midden “a sample of about 225 sherds was taken, only 31 were saved”. This collection was nonetheless sufficient for her to identify a “style” distinct from the prevailing one on the island. “The bodies of the vessels rise fairly straight or turn inward slightly at the shoulder” (de Wolf, 1953, Fig. 85 a-j). One lug was described as being “lightly incised with three radiating lines” and as having “flecks of red paint near the edge” (de Wolf, 1953, Fig. 86j). “The other main form of decoration consists of paint and rubbing applied to areas of the vessel surface”. 8 sherds were painted, 7 red and 1 yellow. “Rubbing gives the sherds a dull mat finish”. Howard (1956) following the usual rules with regard to eponymous sites named this the “Little River” style, but Dr Lee has consistently used the term Redware for all the sites (Lee, 1976, 1979, 1980) and this usage is adopted here. In his report to IACA, he laid particular emphasis on the distinctive handle types (Lee, 1980, Figs. 3-6) which are shown here in Figure 2. The numbered types in this Figure are as follows: 1 plain D, 2 D with flared base, 3 D with flared base and tab or spur, 3A identical to 3 but occurring below rather than on the rim (on the same principle there is a variety 1A), 4 horizontal loop. The last example shows red slip applied only to the upper part of the outside of the vessel, which is quite characteristic of the style as a whole (Lee, 1980:599). All writers are agreed that this cultural variant is equivalent to the Ostionan in a broader Caribbean context (Rouse, 1992).

In his last published map of Jamaican Redware sites, Dr Lee recorded 11 middens and 2 caves (Lee, 1980, Fig. 1). In the CD-ROM we have recorded 16 middens and 3 caves. Dr Lee was aware that Redware sherds were present at Alligator Pond (E1) and Porus (M7), and in his final manuscript list E1 (but not M7) was recognised as a Redware site. Mammee Bay (A50) and Anderson (M11) were found and mapped after 1980, as was Keegan’s site at Paradise. Dr Lee remarked of the two caves Parchment (EC5) and Baalbec (EC10) that they were known to have had “human bones in close association with Redware potsherds”. Likewise at Bull Savannah #2 (EC12) he noted that some elements of the pottery were “distinctly Redware style but without the red colouring” (Lee, 1968). These pieces are in the Lee collection and provide good grounds for considering
this a Redware site, in which case the same remarks as above about close association with human bones will apply. On the other hand, Dr Lee clearly stated that “there is no evidence that Redware people were responsible for any of the Jamaican petroglyphs or pictographs” (Lee, 1980: 602).

2. Montego Bay
The Montego Bay style was first distinguished by Howard, mainly on the basis of the material from Fairfield (J3) (Howard, 1950: 145-146, 1956, 1965). In the light of Howard’s remarks, Marian de Wolf re-examined the material she had excavated from Windsor (A19) in 1933, and she decided that this too belonged to the newly defined style (de Wolf, 1953). The potsherds were thick, coarse, and heavy. Howard suggested that they came from relatively large vessels, although he had no complete specimen to prove the point. According to him, “the massiveness of Montego Bay ware allows sufficient space on the rim surfaces to permit decoration”, which was usually in the form of deep, bold incisions. By rim surfaces, Howard evidently meant fillets, or what de Wolf called “reinforced rims” (de Wolf, 1953, Fig. 85 n-o).

The Lee collection permits a much fuller idea to be obtained of what the Montego Bay style was. 21 middens and 1 cave can be regarded as belonging to this variant, to which may be added the site excavated by Keegan at Sweetwater. The sites stretch in an arc along the western coasts of Jamaica, from Windsor (A19) in the north-east to Fort Charles (E2) in the south-east. 15 of the sites are however concentrated in the parishes of St. James and Trelawny. The collection contains 970 and 947 artefacts respectively from Hartfield (J1) and Fairfield (J3). Some of this material is illustrated at Figure 4. At top and left are three decorated fillets in typical Montego Bay style; the profiles indicate that these come from restricted simple vessels, but this impression may be misleading. At Fairfield (J3) in 1970 Dr Lee obtained an almost intact bowl filled with marl which is decorated in just this way. The complete vessel is restricted carinated in shape. It is 17-18 cm in diameter and 13 cm high. Probably many of the “thick, coarse” vessels looked like this. Also illustrated at bottom and right in Figure 4 are two anthropomorphic lugs from Fairfield and Fort Charles (E2). The combination of incision and applied design is again typical of Montego Bay ware, as is the rather grotesque appearance of the figures.

Howard left open the position of the Montego Bay style relative to the prevailing one on the island, although both he and de Wolf implied that they could be in some way related.

3. Port Morant
The creation of a separate variant of this name was suggested by J.S. Tyndale-Biscoe, following his investigations at Bowden (09), which he described as “an Arawak kitchen midden with an individuality all its own”, on account of its style of pottery decoration (Tyndale-Biscoe, 1960, 1962). The decoration was apparently made with “a square-pointed stick, which was poked into the clay at an angle”, and this decoration was confined to the shoulder of the pot rather than the rim. There were “two styles, one a single line of punctations, and the other a zigzag”. The Lee collection does not include any material from Bowden, but there are 7 other sites, all in the parish of St. Thomas, which tentatively can be regarded as comparable to it. The two styles mentioned by Tyndale-Biscoe, from two of these other sites, are illustrated at Figure 3. Further investigation is needed to confirm the validity of this entity, which in the meantime may be regarded as having the same kind of status as the Montego Bay variant.

4. White Marl
This is the predominant style represented on the island. All the other sites (157 middens and 60 caves) are placed in this group by default, so it may be something of a rag-bag, but the group as such is certainly a reality. Howard proposed the term W hite Marl for it, “since it is at this site that the style appears in its most complete and characteristic form and it is here that its development
can be traced over a period of several centuries”. Among other things, Howard noted the following features (Howard, 1956: 49-54, 1965: 252-254). Incision, application, punctuation, and modeling were employed as decorative techniques (by modeling, Howard meant lugs or handles with anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representations). Apart from lugs and handles, shoulders provided the “main areas of decoration”. Here incised designs were mainly “groups of alternating, obliquely parallel lines”. “Ridges or fillets were frequently applied along the outer surface of the rim”. As already stated, the shapes of the pots were predominantly round bowls and boat-shaped vessels. All writers have concurred in regarding this style as corresponding to the Meillacan in a broader Caribbean context (Rouse, 1992). For the most part, the Lee collection bears out the appropriateness of Howard’s characterisation. Howard considered that in general the White Marl pottery was “remarkably homogeneous”, constituting “a relatively undifferentiated and conservative tradition”. But he admitted that without “careful, large scale, stratigraphic excavations”, the “undoubted regional and temporal differences” which existed in Jamaica could not be “established accurately”. That remains true today.

**Pictographs and Petroglyphs**

Dr Lee provided two general accounts of the island’s decorated caves, of which the second is much more complete (Lee, 1974, 1990). Here he listed 21 sites with petroglyphs alone, 2 with both pictographs and petroglyphs, and 1 with pictographs alone. Potoo Hole, with pictographs alone, has since been found. All these sites are recorded in the CD-ROM. Dr Lee also mentioned 4 other sites which he knew of but which he had not been able to locate. Unhappily, 7 of the known petroglyph sites were stated to have been “seriously defaced, erased, or removed”.

**Excavated Sites and Fauna**

It probably is not widely realised just how many sites in Jamaica have been excavated in one form or another. As to whether these excavations have been fully reported or indeed published at all is another matter. In the CD-ROM details are given of 30 sites in Dr Lee’s list where the excavations have been at least minimally recorded; in another 11 cases no report can be compiled because we know so little; and then we do have records of the excavations at 4 of the 6 “new” sites mentioned above (Nanny Town, Sweetwater and Paradise, and New Seville); so, there are 45 excavated sites in all. A few well-known published reports exist, concerning for example Retreat (A13) (de Booy, 1913), Tower Hill (K7) (Bullen and Bullen, 1974), Bellevue (K13) (Medhurst, 1976, 1977), and Rodney’s House (S5) (W ilman, 1978; Medhurst, 1980), but these are the exception. It was of course a tragedy that R.R. Howard’s sudden death in 1965 prevented him from making a full report on the excavations which he carried out at White Marl (S1) between 1958 and 1964. A posthumous report concerning his excavations in 1964 was prepared by Silverberg, Vanderwal, and W ing (1972), but this could not completely fill the gap, and it has remained unpublished. R.L. Vanderwal continued the excavations at White Marl in 1965-1968, and in those years he also carried out excavations at no less than 8 other open air sites across the island: Hartfield (J1), Fairfield (J3), Bottom Bay (M4), Belvedere #1 (O1), Duckenfield (O2), Bowden (O9), Rio N uvo (Y4), and Tamarind Hill (H11). They are reported with the utmost brevity either in his unpublished MA thesis or in two unpublished reports which he submitted to the Institute of Jamaica before he left the island in 1968 (Vanderwal, 1967, 1968 a and b). According to Dr Lee (1970b) Mountain River Cave (SC1) “produced some potsherds during excavations by Vanderwal near the cave mouth”, and there is a report concerning excavations at White Marl Cave #1 (SC2) (St. Clair, 1970), but in general the caves have not been excavated as such. More often, it has just been a matter of material having been removed from them. This is so in the well known cases of Halberstadt and Bloxburgh (KC1 and 3) (Duerden, 1897), as also at Cambridge Hill (O C1) (Howard, 1950, 1956; Harper, 1961-62), and at certain of the caves investigated by Dr Lee, for example Taylor’s Hut (CC15) (Lee, 1971b, 1973), Spot Valley (JC7) (Lee, 1970a, 1971a), and Belle Air (AC4) (Lee, 1992).

Notwithstanding this, and paradoxically enough, we do have quite a lot of information concerning
the fauna from some of these sites, including those for which no full excavation report exists. Thus, a comprehensive report on the fauna from White Marl was produced by Elizabeth Wing, who also compared the results with those from Bengal (A8), Rio Nuevo (Y4), and Bellevue (K13) (Silverberg, Vanderwal, Wing, 1972; Wing, 1977). In addition, we have reports from Cinnamon Hill (J10) (Johnson, 1976), Upton (A43) (Fandrich, 1991; Scudder, 1994), and Rodney's House (S5) (Scudder, 1991). A clear distinction emerges between those sites which were predominantly exploiting marine resources (Cinnamon Hill, Bengal, Rio Nuevo, Rodney's House) and those where land resources were more important (Bellevue, Upton, and White Marl). No doubt there is a great deal more which we have to learn about the subsistence habits of the Pre-Columbian islanders, but the quantified data from these seven sites make a very good starting point.

In the nature of things, the Lee collection cannot compare with the faunal material derived from excavated sites. The animal bones total 393, representing a minimum number of individuals (MNI) of 150, from 62 sites. Some domestic animals are present, clearly indicating admixture, hardly surprising in a surface collection, and there are other biases which are evident. In terms of presence/absence, it is interesting to note the appearance of crocodile, iguana, manatee, and the Jamaican brown owl, popularly known as the patoo. It is the same story with the molluscs, of which there are 1221 identified specimens from 132 sites. The commonest species present are pleurodons, Strombus gigas, and Codakia orbicularis, but this is no more than a grab sample.

Burials and Human Bones

Dr Lee made a point of recording those sites which he believed to be burial caves, either on the basis of the literature or by virtue of his own observations. Exercising a degree of caution, it can be estimated that there are 39 fully mapped caves of this type on the island. But it has become abundantly clear that burials occurred also in open air sites. An examination of the written sources reveals that there are at least 15 of these sites, which produced a minimum of 42 individuals, 16 from White Marl alone. So burials are not just a cave phenomenon.

The number of identified human bones in the Lee collection is 399, representing a minimum number of individuals (MNI) of 46, from 25 locations (16 middens, 8 caves, and 1 of uncertain provenance). Dr Ana Luisa Santos has identified 18 of the individuals as adults, 14 as immature, and 14 as uncertain. The specimens recovered from the caves may very well have represented deliberate burials, but with the middens one cannot be sure. At least at Taylor's Hut #1 (CC15), Spot Valley (JC7), Belle Air (AC4), and Bull Savannah #2 (EC12), there are indications of burial ritual, with the presence of whole or fragmentary potsherds and possibly other associated items. The detailed study of the human remains from the Lee collection should point the way to a wider study of similar remains which are held at the Institute of Jamaica, the Jamaica National Heritage Trust, and elsewhere on the island.

Conclusion

It is clear that the Lee collection represents an invaluable source for reconstructing the Pre-Columbian settlement of the island. The documentation alone, assembled over a period of almost 30 years, represents a large part of Dr Lee's life work. Undoubtedly other sites will be discovered, and with careful excavations the chronology, the local variations, and the lifestyle of the inhabitants, will become better known. What we have here is a framework to which new things can be added. The CD-ROM is full of “facts and figures”. But there is also a bit more than that. From time to time, in the collection, one has a sense of coming face to face with these people, particularly when dealing with what we call their art works, for example the anthropomorphic stone image from Montpelier (M9) shown in Figure 5. We will keep looking for these people, who at times speak to us so directly.
la amalgama de procesos que tuvieron como resultado el complejo registro arqueológico al que nos enfrentamos en el Caribe.

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References


All Mapped Sites

201 middens and 64 caves (Lee’s record) + 6 new sites
mean distance from sea 4.78 km, elevation 164.3 m,
midden area 1.2 hectares

1. All Mapped Sites in Jamaica

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